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HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: VIGOROUS, PROGRESSIVE,
AND HUMANE.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH,
OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, June 15, 1898.

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WASHINGTON.

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Mr. W. A. Smith

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SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH.

On the joint resolution (H. Res. 259) to provide for annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

Mr. WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH of Michigan said:

Mr. SPEAKER: It is with some misgiving and trepidation that I rise toward the close of this discussion, so full of interest and enlightenment. I do not take part, however, with any expectation of affecting the vote soon to be taken, but solely for the purpose of reflecting public sentiment in the district which I have the honor to represent and to discharge my duty as a Representative upon this floor.

Through four sessions of Congress I have willingly followed the wise leadership with which we are favored, and in much of my public work have been blessed with the wisdom and experience of older Members, whose right to lead has been earned by long and faithful service in legislative affairs.

Even now, were the latitude less circumscribed and the subject under discussion less important, I would not venture to take the time of the House, but as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, charged with the preliminary responsibility for this legislation, I owe a duty to you, which it shall be my privilege to perform.

Our action to-day will mark a new era in national affairs. God grant that it may be wisely performed, and that the century now closing may lose none of its luster thereby, and the proud and honorable achievements of our country may be made more secure and enduring by our legislation of to-day.

"The world will little note nor long remember" the petty struggles of individuals for honor and place, but in the world's grand pageantry of glorious and progressive enlightenment, along whose fitful highway nations travel in their onward march, these epochs constitute the century marks upon eternity's dial.

Not a determined navigator upon unknown seas, not a faithful explorer in darkness and gloom, not a struggling genius whose mind, clogged with cumbersome detail, finally bursts into practical invention, not a sturdy pioneer in the march of progress, who has not builded better than he knew.

Perhaps, sir—who can say nay?—we are building better than we know for the future grandeur and greatness of America.

The important question of Hawaiian annexation is not new to the country. Nearly fifty years ago our Government undertook negotiations for its annexation, and the American minister to Hawaii was at that time instructed that we were ready to receive the formal transfer of the territorial sovereignty of the islands, and there has never been a time since when important negotiations were not pending for their absorption into the Union.

Why have we delayed? Through whose instrumentality have we been influenced?

With a constancy born of sincere desire, this little group of Pacific pearls have maintained their friendship for us through strife, revolution, and disaster, refusing alliances from others, helpful and honorable.

Four times she has been seized in eighty years—once by Russia, once by England, and twice by France. Hostile demonstrations upon her own part and the threatening attitude of our country caused her release. Finally, for fear and in dread of conquest, the absolute cession of her sovereignty to the United States was executed and delivered in 1851, and a treaty was negotiated in 1854.

Mr. Speaker, there is not a nation in the world that does not recognize the importance of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. Are we blind to our interests when the disinterested vision of others is so clear? Will we longer neglect this plain duty, now so near consummation?

For one, let me say that no obstacle is too great to be overcome in the definite and distinct purpose of this hour, and the weak and foolish prejudices of men have no terror whatever for me in the performance of plain public duty.

Long before the independence of America from England, the question of island ownership was one of the utmost importance among European nations. With an eye to the extension of her trade and commerce, every island in the Atlantic Ocean, the Caribbean Sea, and the Gulf, which they could trade for or easily conquer, has been brought under the English flag. It is not my purpose to criticise this upon her part, for I believe it to have been wise, farsighted, and sagacious, and worthy of emulation.

Is it not essential that we should be vigilant as to our true interests at this point? Would it not be wise to seize the opportunity presented to us by Providence and the logic of our national fate?

It has been urged that we have no constitutional power to annex new territory. In what line of the Federal Constitution is this prohibited? Who knew more than Thomas Jefferson or Gouverneur Morris, whose pens put the Constitution into form, about the meaning and the purpose of this instrument in the matter of territorial acquisition? At the time of the Louisiana purchase Morris wrote, "No decree de crescendo imperio," especially emphasizing the fact that limitations were not inserted in the instrument, because no boundaries could be safely assigned to our future extension; and he further says:

"I knew as well then as I do now that all North America must at length be annexed to us. Happy indeed if the lust of possession stop there."

While the great Jefferson, whose fertile mind is reflected in so much of our Constitution, wrote, in reply to the letter of Galatin, regarding the Louisiana purchase:

"There is no constitutional difficulty as to the acquisition of territory, and whether when acquired it may be taken into the Union by the Constitution as it now stands, will become a question of expediency."

The turning point in that great question of territorial aggrandizement was solved upon the question of whether or not our young Government wanted a portion of its contiguous soil occupied by the French—whether we wanted to take the chances of a

Napoleon at the head of a French army ascending the Mississippi River to reconquer, if possible, a new world; and Jefferson, out of the wisdom of his experience and the courage of his conviction, made a purchase which the American people have approved every moment since it was consummated; and never in the history of the Republic was fifteen millions of American money better invested to secure wise territorial addition and to secure the peace of our border.

When Spain offered to this Government the Floridas, or at least a quitclaim of her title and pretensions, in 1819, the Supreme Court of the United States, called upon soon thereafter to define our relation to the new acquisition, held, to the great surprise of some of the strict constructionists of the Constitution, that the right of the United States to wage war and to make treaties necessarily implied the right to acquire new territory, whether by conquest or purchase. This decision came from our greatest Chief Justice, John Marshall, and has been repeatedly affirmed by his successors upon the bench. (See 136 U.S. Rep., 1-42.)

While Chief Justice Taney, in the celebrated Dred Scott decision, said:

"We do not mean, however, to question the power of Congress in this respect. The power to expand the territory of the United States by the admission of new States is plainly given; and in the construction of this power by all the departments of the Government it has been held to authorize the acquisition of territory, not fit for admission at the time, but to be admitted as soon as its population and situation would entitle it to admission. It is acquired to become a State, and not to be held as a colony and governed by Congress with absolute authority; and as the propriety of admitting a new State is committed to the sound discretion of Congress, the power to acquire territory for that purpose, to be held by the United States until it is in a suitable condition to become a State upon an equal footing with other States, must rest upon the same discretion. It is a question for the political department of the Government, and not the judicial; and whatever the political department of the Government shall recognize as within the limits of the United States the judicial department is also bound to recognize, and to administer in it the laws of the United States, so far as they apply, and to maintain in the territory the authority and rights of the Government, and also the personal rights and rights of property of individual citizens, as secured by the Constitution."

In 1836 there came an application from the Republic of Texas for admission into the Union as a new and equal State. The dominant population there had always been composed of emigrants from the United States. President Adams had tried to purchase it from Mexico in 1827; while Andrew Jackson offered \$5,000,000 for it in 1835. A year later Texas claimed to have achieved her independence, and sent commissioners to Washington to negotiate a treaty of annexation. Mexico had not relinquished her claims of ownership, and our Government delayed recognition until Texas had proven its ability to defend its separate existence and diplomatic relations had been established between that independent Republic and the United States, and many European powers.

In 1838 John Quincy Adams introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution denying the power of the United States to annex the people of any independent state into the Union, holding that no such authority resided in the Constitution or Govern-

ment or any department thereof, and that this exercise would be an assumption of power unlawful and void, even going so far as to hold that if Texas were annexed, it would inevitably result in a dissolution of the Union. The situation there presented, the resistance offered, and the encouragement given were sharp, tireless, and effective. Nevertheless, sir, in 1844 a treaty of annexation was concluded, which the Senate rejected by a vote of more than two to one.

Texas was the issue in the succeeding Presidential election, and the Democratic party scored a great and decisive victory, which President Tyler promptly ratified by recommending an act of annexation. The history of that controversy is well known to those conversant with public affairs. Congress authorized the erection of Texas into a new State of the United States, and President Tyler promptly affixed his signature to the act of union, and this independent Republic, the cause of so much contention in the past, entered the Union over a new legislative highway which has been blazed so wide and so straight that in the present emergency we have a precedent ample indeed.

While there can be no question, Mr. Speaker, but that treaty making was especially lodged by the Constitution in the President and Senate, and that the composition of the Senate was so framed that each State should have an equal voice, nevertheless, the exigencies which at times confront the Republic warn us of the importance of the popular branch of Congress, coming direct from the people; and the Texas precedent has made the votes of a majority of both branches of Congress sufficient.

I am well aware, sir, that Jefferson has expressed doubt as to the wisdom of our Government receiving acquisitions which it would take a navy to defend, but the necessity for a strong navy, able to give absolute security to our commerce upon the sea, has forced its way permanently into the public mind. Secretary Adams, in his instruction to our minister to Spain, once wrote that Puerto Rico was the natural appendage and Cuba had become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. The commanding position of Puerto Rico with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas gave to it advantages which could not be easily ignored, while Cuba, because of its situation between our southern coast and the island of San Domingo, with its splendid harbor at Havana, fronting our shores, almost destitute of the same advantage, its productions and its necessities, with mutually profitable commercial advantage, gives this territory national interest with no parallel in either ocean. At least one President (Polk) has tried to purchase it, adding his testimony to the right and ability under the Constitution for our Government to acquire foreign territory.

At the close of the Mexican war we paid fifteen million dollars for New Mexico and California, while the Gadsden purchase of 1853 added southern Arizona at a cost of ten millions more. These acquisitions, understood and appreciated by the American people, have increased our interest at advantageous and desirable points. It has stimulated our desire for a canal across the Isthmus, in accordance with the spirit of progress and development of the world.

Nearly fifty years ago the advantages of this project were hedged about by diplomatic agreements, which during much of the intervening time have been onerous and unacceptable. Whether the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty shall be the basis of such an

enterprise and its realization I do not care to say in the present controversy; but Edward Everett in 1852, referring to one of the islands in the Gulf and the effect that a canal might possibly have upon it, said that—

“Territorially and commercially it would in our hands be an extremely valuable possession; under certain contingencies it might be almost essential to our safety.”

While the Ostend manifesto of 1854 emphasized these considerations quite strongly, that if a final cession can not be accomplished, that conquest of valuable territory might be dictated by the law of self-preservation. The interests of the American people in properly protecting our Government by the acquisition of foreign territory is reflected upon the statute books to-day, where Title LXXII of the Revised Statutes expressly lodges in the hands of the President the right to acquire foreign territory by right of discovery, and to take possession of any guano deposits on any island, rock, or key, which does not belong to any other government, expressly providing that such island, rock, or key may, at the discretion of the President, be considered as appertaining to the United States. Thus our Government acquired jurisdiction over and title to the island of Navassa, two miles long and lying between Jamaica and San Domingo, discovered in 1857, and for crimes committed upon that island, the courts of the United States have in the past assumed jurisdiction and punished the offender.

Mr. Speaker, when President Lincoln recommended to Congress the advisability of some colonization scheme, he said that the plan which he proposed might involve the acquiring of territory and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in territorial acquisition, adding that—

“Having practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. * * * On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money for the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to almost necessity, without which the Government itself can not be perpetuated?”

The purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 for \$7,200,000 brought us into possession of large territory remote from our own over two thousand miles. The question of contiguity was by this act finally and completely abandoned, there being but two votes in the Senate against the ratification of the treaty.

The same year that marked the extension of our territory by the purchase of Alaska marked the negotiations with Denmark by Secretary Seward for the cession of the West India islands of St. Thomas and St. Johns for a consideration of \$5,700,000, and President Johnson thus tersely and effectively gives the reasons for our course:

“In our Revolutionary war, ports and harbors in the West India islands were used by our enemy to the great injury and embarrassment of the United States. We had the same experience in our second war with Great Britain. The same European policy for a long time excluded us even from trade with the West Indies while we were at peace with all nations. In our recent civil war their piratical and blockade-breaking allies found facilities in the same ports for the work which they were successfully accomplishing, the injuring and devastating the commerce which we are now engaged in rebuilding. We labored especially under this disadvantage, that European steam vessels employed by our ene-

mies found friendly protection and supplies in the West India ports, while our naval operations were necessarily carried on from our own distant shores. There was then a universal feeling of the want of advanced naval outposts between the Atlantic coast and Europe. The duty of obtaining such an outpost peacefully and lawfully, while neither doing nor menacing injury to other States, earnestly engaged the attention of the executive department before the close of the war, and it has not been lost sight of since that time.

"A not entirely dissimilar naval want revealed itself during the same period on the Pacific coast. The required foothold there was fortunately secured by our late treaty with the Emperor of Russia, and it now seems imperative that the more obvious necessities of the Atlantic coast should not be less carefully provided for. A good and convenient port and harbor, capable of easy defense, will supply that want. With the possession of such a station by the United States, neither we nor any other American nation need longer apprehend injury or offense from any trans-Atlantic enemy. I agree with our early statesmen that the West Indies naturally gravitate to and may be expected ultimately to be absorbed by the continental States, including our own. I agree with them also that it is wise to leave the question of such absorption to this process of natural political gravitation. The islands of St. Thomas and St. Johns, which constitute a part of the group called the Virgin Islands, seemed to offer us advantages immediately desirable, while their acquisition could be secured in harmony with the principles to which I have alluded."

Because of the inharmonious relation existing between President Johnson and the Senate, a treaty for the acquisition of these islands was rejected, and the first disturbance of our peace foreshadowed in the recent declaration of war with Spain was sufficient to call the Senate of the United States into executive session for the very purpose of considering the annexation of the Danish possessions, undertaken by Secretary Seward and unsuccessfully carried on under the Administration of President Grant.

The question of the annexation of San Domingo did not turn upon the wisdom or unwisdom of such a course upon the part of this Government; its fate was decided within the narrow confines of spitefulness and personality, and our action to-day must not be supported or opposed by the temporary exigencies of party politics.

As far back as 1843 an English officer, without any authority from his Government, took possession of Hawaii in the name of the Queen, but England's young Queen, who still, by the grace of a generous Providence, occupies the throne, promptly disavowed the movement, when Mr. Legare, writing to our minister to England, said that the Hawaiian Islands bore such peculiar relations to us that we might feel like interfering by force to prevent their acquisition by any of the great powers of Europe.

Great Britain and France immediately thereafter agreed with one another never to take possession of the Islands, or assume a protectorate over them.

Following that, Mr. Marcy, our Secretary of State, in 1853, thus addressed our minister to France:

"It seems to be inevitable that they must come under the control of this Government."

And two years thereafter he informed our minister to Hawaii

that this Government was ready to receive the formal transfer of the territorial sovereignty of the islands; while in 1868 negotiations were again undertaken, and Secretary Seward, in view of his failure to impress the Senate with the necessity of annexing the Danish West Indies, wrote our minister to Hawaii that the time for consideration of annexation by the United States was not propitious.

The attempted annexation of these islands by President Harrison is familiar to every citizen of our country, and the course of his successor, in withdrawing the treaty then pending in the Senate, has been the cause of severe criticism and sharp comment ever since.

However honest President Cleveland may have been, his course with reference to this subject, in my opinion, has never met with favor among the people.

Annexation is not new to our country. The area of the United States before the Louisiana Purchase consisted of a million square miles, according to the estimate of Morse's American Geography, while the subsequent acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas doubled our territory, and Texas brought us three hundred thousand square miles, while Mexico in 1848 and 1853 ceded a larger number.

In Alaska we received in 1867 a large addition, and thus our total area has increased, under this policy of territorial acquisition and annexation, from a million square miles in 1793 to more than three millions five hundred thousand square miles at the present time.

It has been generally supposed that our possessions were large enough, but the area of Canada and Newfoundland, owned by Great Britain in this hemisphere, excels our own by several hundred thousand square miles.

Under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty we have practically pledged our Government against further extensions in South America, but in my humble opinion the whole North American continent and every island in the gulf and the Caribbean Sea, and such islands in the Pacific as may be deemed desirable, are worthy of our ambition. Not that we are earth hungry, but, as a measure of national protection and advantage, it is the duty of the American people to lay peaceful conquest wherever opportunity may be offered. [Applause.]

It has been argued that our Constitution makes no provision for a colonial system, but, Mr. Speaker, if President Monroe had been merely a lawyer, if he had contented himself by looking for precedent which he was unable to find, if he had consulted the jurisprudence of his time and planned his action along academic lines, the greatest doctrine ever announced to the civilized world, which now bears his name, though in unwritten law, but in the inspiration, the hope, the security of every American heart, would have found no voice potent enough and courageous enough to have encircled the Western Hemisphere with his peaceful edict.

Precedent, sir, may do for a rule of law upon which a fixed and definite superstructure must be built, but it is the duty of statesmanship to cease looking at great public questions with a microscope, and sweep the world's horizon with a telescope from a commanding height. [Applause.]

Avoid, if you can, sir, by specious reasoning the history of your own country, but tell me what precedent Thomas Jefferson relied upon when in 1803 he took \$15,000,000 out of the Federal treasury and purchased Louisiana?

This great and worthy act of one of the most enlightened of our constitutional authors gave to the country a territory which now composes the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota: west of the Mississippi, Colorado, the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana.

Naturally it would have been expected that Jefferson would have been praised for his courage and foresight. On the contrary, he was denounced with bitterness and partisan rancor almost unknown in the discussion of our public affairs to-day.

Notwithstanding the limitations with which he was hedged about, Jefferson believed that each generation was competent to manage its own affairs, and his peaceful accomplishment in 1803 was the most important achievement since the Revolution, and furnished a precedent by which Florida was purchased in 1819 for five million dollars, California and New Mexico in 1848 for fifteen million dollars, Arizona in 1853 for ten million dollars, and Alaska in 1867 for seven million two hundred thousand dollars. The grand total of this territorial investment 'foots up fifty-two million two hundred thousand dollars—a sum so small as not even to attract the attention of the House of Representatives in a day's debate, in the present period of our country's affairs; and yet the investments made thereby constitute living monuments to the statesmanship that foresaw their importance and the Americanism that prompted their acquisition.

The spirited rivalry among nations for trade early found expression in the exclusive charter given by Queen Elizabeth to the Great East India Company in 1599, and their general monopoly of the market from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan was the resultant effect.

The importance of this company in establishing British supremacy in the East is well known to every student of history. The ostensible object of charity in the Empire of Hindoostan gradually brought the entire Empire into the possession of that company, thus christening Queen Victoria "Empress of India."

Who is not familiar with the escapades of Dr. Jamieson and the South African Company, who undertook, in the interest of trade and conquest, to overthrow the South African Republics and make Victoria Queen of Ethiopia.

Can you read of England's efforts in the Celestial Empire without detecting the important trend of events? Chinese resistance to English opium smugglers opened the way for the English to bombard the forts at the mouth of the river and effect an entrance to Canton, where an indemnity of \$6,000,000 was demanded and collected, followed by the siege of Peking, which netted the English Government \$21,000,000, and secured for her the cession of Hong-kong, thus securing the commerce of southern China, and placing herself in position to command the trade of 400,000,000 frugal and industrious people.

Mr. Speaker, territorial and trade conquests are world-wide. Russia and England have appropriated the continent of Asia from the Indian to the Arctic Ocean, where our trade is one of purchase only. The Dutch own the great islands of the Indian Archipelago, and England holds the balance, absolutely controlling their commerce.

We must recognize the fact, sir, that England holds the whole of the Australian continent and its neighboring islands, and nearly half the area of our own continent.

Within the last three years the nations of Europe have by

mutual agreement divided among themselves the entire area of Africa. England has added Egypt to her other African dominions; France has appropriated a large part of North Africa between Egypt and the Atlantic; all the equatorial region is now divided among Italy, England, France, Germany, and Austria.

South America and the Orient are the natural trade allies of the United States. Their relation to us must grow more important and desirable in the years to come. Then why talk of an Anglo-American alliance? Who is so short sighted as to wish us to assume any responsibility, however remote, for the faithful performance of the multitude of agreements, treaties, and protocols of England? To be sure, they are our natural kin, and we are proud of our ancestry, but our friendship will be more enduring and our burdens easier to bear if we refrain from entangling alliances with any powers across the sea. Such territory in the ocean or in the Gulf as naturally belongs to our Government we can make our own in due season, and wisdom would seem to prompt us to leave no natural or willing ally, weak and defenseless as it may be, to become the mere toy of an aggressive empire, imperiling our peace and good order.

The Pacific Ocean, unfettered by European subjugation, can be made indeed pacific, if we are wise enough to garner the harvest now so ripe for our sickle.

Who opposes this wise policy that has received the sanction of many Presidents? The same halting, hesitating conservatism that admonished Washington against taking on the Northwest Territory, and prompted Benjamin Franklin to favor its relinquishment; the same doubting conservatism that deprived us of Canada in the war of 1812, and defeated by a tie vote in the Senate the treaty for the annexation of San Domingo. [Applause.]

Our military school taught Grant the value of strategic points of defense and attack. His campaigns were marvels of exactness and keen perception, executed with prowess and true military genius. His keen appreciation of the advantage of American ownership and control of the Island of Santo Domingo was in line with his record so amply demonstrated in the field of military triumph. He decided that it was wise for the American nation to accept this island, freely offered by its inhabitants; he believed the acquisition of Santo Domingo to be a strict adherence to the Monroe doctrine—a measure of national protection.

From the formation of our Government it has been important that the American nation control, as far as possible, the West Indies. Our Presidents have expressed an almost universal desire of the people for an advanced naval outpost between the Atlantic coast and Europe. The Dominican people longed for a higher civilization; they had fought for and established their government against oppression and conquest, just as the Hawaiian Republic has since done, and they turned to us as a Mussulman turns toward Mecca. The Commission of Inquiry appointed by our Government, and of which the honorable chairman of the Committee upon Foreign Affairs of this House was identified, made a most searching, critical investigation into the condition, character, and resources of that island, and reported back that the people were courteous, respectful, and polite; that crime was comparatively unknown; that no pauper class existed; that intemperance and beggary were more common among the enlightened nations of the world; that the resources of the island were vast and various, making it one of the most fertile regions on the face

of the globe. Fanned by trade winds, they were constantly supplied with pure air from the sea, while the bay of Samana was the most important in the West Indies, being 30 miles long and 10 miles broad, commodious enough to accomodate the largest fleets.

Why did we need this island? For this good and sufficient reason—it sits like a sentinel in the Caribbean Sea, guarding the Mona Passage, destined to be the eastern avenue of communication between two great oceans when the Nicaragua Canal shall be an accomplished fact. A trained military eye could appreciate the importance of this outpost, and President Grant would have made it part of the American Union. How clearly he saw, how courageously he acted, and with what patriotism was he inspired!

Sir, the countries of the Western Hemisphere stand face to face with the necessity of dealing with one another as Americans. This entire group of magnificent islands is naturally a part of the American territory.

“The West India Sea corresponds to that of the Mediterranean from Syria to the Pillars of Hercules. The Mediterranean is divided into an eastern and western basin, and as Italy, Sardinia, and Tunis divide the basin there, so Cuba, Jamaica, Santo Domingo, and Yucatan divide the Gulf and the Caribbean Sea. As the former is fed by the venerable, ancient Nile, so ours is augmented by the pulsating artery of the Mississippi. The Mediterranean is a world's sea, lying in the temperate zone, amid an ancient civilization, and our southern basin is destined to be a world's sea when an international waterway shall pierce the isthmus connecting the Eastern and Western Hemispheres by direct and rapid communication.”

This has been the dream of trans-Atlantic thinkers for two hundred and fifty years. Indeed, its importance was first suggested by Charles V after the discovery of America by Columbus, and later by Phillip II, to whom Cortez reported that the greatest service he could render to the King was to find an opening through the Isthmus to the Pacific.

The idea of constructing a canal through Lake Nicaragua was first suggested in 1665. Thus we see why European countries have always been alive to the importance of island ownership in the vicinity of the Isthmus. Its construction will raise the islands to an importance beyond calculation. A lavish nature, tropical climate, and prolific soil have rendered their possession valuable. They will be the cause of contention and competition in the future.

Is it not essential that we should be vigilant as to our true interests at this point? Great Britain already holds the keys to navigation in the West Indies. She owns Jamaica—Cromwell wrested it from the Spaniards in 1653, and Kingston is the base of operations of the British West India fleet. Her flag floats over the Caman Islands, Trinidad, St. Vincent, the Barbadoes, St. Lucia, and the Bahamas, as well as the eastern coast of Yucatan and British Honduras, all strongly fortified. Spain with dying grasp, scarcely felt in her benumbed extremities, clutches at her vanishing dominion in this hemisphere; but the realization of the hopes and desires of humanity everywhere will soon light this dark corner of the world with the bright flame of indignant liberty. [Applause.]

France owns the Islands of Guadaloupe and Martinique, lying well up toward the Mona Passage; but Santo Domingo rises above them all, with special advantages and with special prominence.

Had President Grant's fervent wish been granted, our flag would to-day wave over the island, and from the folds of its stars and stripes, dedicated to liberty and union, would float out over the gulf and sea a spirit of patriotism tempering the entire archipelago. Should it have been accepted when tendered? Then, is it not our duty to accept the Hawaiian Islands, situated with reference to our own country as advantageously in the Pacific as Santo Domingo is at the Gulf? The faintest encouragement would have been sufficient for some countries to have encircled these islands. And this generation will be unfaithful to those that follow if we do not lessen the possibilities of war by taking into the National Union such naval outposts in both oceans as are naturally a part of our country. [Applause.]

Mr. Speaker, the United States is a great manufacturing nation; eventually we must find new markets for our energy and enterprise; such desirable territory is fast passing under the control of other nations; our history is filled with unaccepted opportunities. How much longer shall we hesitate? Is it not time to take new observations of the world's affairs, and be guided by more progressive enlightenment? Just as the mariner scans the firmament, when the compass is doubted, and follows the familiar planet into his true course, so we, in this new period of the world's affairs, should look up from the ledger and receive new inspiration and guidance from the movement and course of nations with whom we share the world. [Applause.]

Sir, the proverbial friendship of the great Empire of Russia, with its population of nearly a hundred and thirty million people, must not be impaired. She is to-day one of the most powerful nations of the earth—a devoted, worthy, and unselfish friend to our Government. When the fate of this nation was struggling in the balance, the Emperor of Russia sent a fleet to our door with instructions to conserve the peace at any hazard, should European unfriendliness become manifest. "Russia was never so powerful, so wealthy, so full of exultant confidence in her destiny; never was there such profound peace and general wellbeing within the Empire; never were her counsels of such weight abroad. The potent and patient genius of Alexander III has made Russia the arbiter of Europe, as Napoleon once made France, and Bismarck made United Germany." We rejoice in her progress, and no alliance must be made that will in the slightest degree impair the friendship we hold most dear.

Commercial scope—internal improvement—an American foreign policy, vigorous and humane—are the necessary accompaniments of greatness. The annual products of our country amounted in 1890 to nearly \$14,000,000,000; and is rapidly increasing from day to day. In the present fiscal year the balance of trade in our favor will be \$600,000,000; our exports are double our imports, while our total foreign commerce will, upon the 30th of the present month, reach the enormous sum of \$1,800,000,000. Our best customers are Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and France. If we will take in the Hawaiian Islands, hold on to the Philippines, and cultivate good neighborship with the Orient, to which they are the key, the expansion of our commerce will be augmented a thousandfold, and the artisans, mechanics, and laboring men of our own country will then supply much of the genius and the handiwork of the whole world, thus realizing the fulfillment of the prophecy of Gladstone, who, a few years ago said of our country:

"It is she alone who, at a coming time, can and probably will wrest from us that commercial supremacy, we have no title. I have no inclination to murmur at the prospect; if she acquires it, she will make the acquisition by the right of the strongest, but in this instance the strongest means the best. We have no more title against her than Venice or Genoa or Holland against us."

Our manifest destiny is the heritage of mankind; then let us neglect no opportunity to strengthen and conserve our proud and responsible position. The twentieth century will open upon twenty Republics, ours being the first, and perhaps—who knows? before another century has gone the world may be crowned with a new diadem, sparkling with the jewels of humanity, enthroned and elevated, and empowered with the natural and divine right to govern themselves. What then will our position be? Shall we lead by virtue of being the conservator of good government and the champion of human rights? or shall we, sordid-like and indifferent to the welfare of others, content ourselves to live alone and apart from the rest of the world? From whom did we receive the cup of liberty? From the oppressed and bound of every land. Can we, then, refuse to pass this cup to those thirsting for self-government, liberty, and peace? No, Mr. Speaker, our duty is plain; we must lift up, by example and otherwise, our weak and burdened neighbors; we must take them into the Union when opportunity offers, thus strengthening ourselves and helping those less fortunate.

The Hawaiian Islands possess advantages in the Pacific which can not be ignored; Pearl Harbor is the only great land-locked harbor, easily defended, in the Pacific; we have no rights there that are not determinable upon one year's notice by either party; we should take immediate steps to utilize this great harbor, lying at the intersection of the commercial routes from Vancouver to Australasia, from the Isthmus of Panama to Japan, and from San Francisco to Manila and Hongkong. These watery highways mark the course of commerce in the future. More than one-half the population of the world is bounded by the Pacific and Indian oceans, while the commerce countries bordering these oceans, not including North America, amounts to over \$2,250,000,000 a year, of which we get but a small part.

"Over 80 per cent of our exports go eastward, across the Atlantic, and less than 5 per cent westward. We grow 80 per cent of the raw cotton in the world, yet with the cheapest power in the world and the most efficient labor we have only 15 per cent of the spindles of the world. China, Japan, Korea, and India are cotton-using countries, and with changing conditions there is a market worth striving for." Already Russia sees the advantages which will accrue to her in the Pacific, and the construction of its trans-continental railway from St. Petersburg to the Pacific foreshadows her intentions in that rich but long-neglected field. Sir, I favor the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, because it will prevent the establishment of hostile sovereignty at that advantageous point, and will tend to straighten our western border and conserve its peace. [Applause.]

The nearest English station is 4,600 miles distant from San Francisco; the nearest French station is 3,600 miles distant; the nearest Spanish station is 4,700 miles distant, and will soon be removed, thank God, more than twice as far. Russia is 4,700 miles away, and Japan 4,500 miles away, while China is 5,500 miles from our coast. Take these islands into the Union and you will remove

other nations far from our door and insure more permanent peace and security. It was upon this theory that the old seers and prophets advocated annexation of contiguous territory as a peace proposition; but it has been said by some opposed to annexation that the population is undesirable; possibly that may be so, but the same argument was used against the admission of California and Texas into the Union, but the undesirable element in both States was soon lost sight of in the sturdy immigration that stable government attracted, and so it will be with these islands. Strengthened by absorption into the Union, they will become attractive and inviting fields to American enterprise.

The strategical importance of the islands has been attested by scientific, military, and naval experts without number, while the ripe testimony of Mahan, Schofield, and Belknap must be accepted as of great value. Some concern has been manifested regarding the character of the government to be established there. It will be such in my opinion as the wisdom of Congress may determine, and the power and authority of Congress in this regard has just received enlarged and high judicial sanction in the decision of Judge Morrow, of the United States circuit court of California, which says:

"Congress may legislate in accordance with the special needs of each locality and may vary its regulations to meet the circumstances of the people.

"The Territories of the United States are entirely subject to the legislative authority of Congress. They are not organized under the Constitution, nor subject to its complex distribution of the powers of government as the organic law, but are the creation, exclusively, of the legislative department, and subject to its supervision and control.

"It may legislate in accordance with the special needs of each locality, and vary its regulations to meet the circumstances of the people."

A hundred years ago it was predicted of our nation that it would some day stretch its arms upon two oceans, and direct the vessels from one to the other by an artificial route through Lake Nicaragua that would change the course of the commercial world and the fate of empires. At such a time how important our action to-day may become and of what vital value the undisputed possession of the Hawaiian Islands.

Let us rise to the occasion to-day, meet this important exigency in our national affairs with courage and patriotism, and, inspired by the glorious achievements of the past, prepare for greater victories in the years to come, and thus prove ourselves worthy the proud legacy fortune gave us by inheritance. Wave proudly and grandly, O flag of our country; from each of thy folds let some inspiration go out to melt away prejudice and avoid friction; in each star let every republic find its hope and every empire see its duty! [Prolonged applause.]

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